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ABSTRACT

Racial attitude questions from national surveys such as the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) are being used to show that progress has been made toward interracial harmony in this country. However, there is reason to worry about conclusions from such measures, because they may indicate only progress on learning the socially desirable response rather than the true feelings of the respondents. In fact, a closer examination of racial attitude responses on the NAEP indicates that there is a significant residue of real mistrust between blacks and whites, particularly in the areas of neighborhood integration for whites and personal services for blacks. The cautions against using racial attitude questions also apply to investigations of effects of school desegregation. For example, by controlling for social desirability response bias, results from an examination of responses made by black and white students on the NAEP, show that school desegregation has a positive influence on black students' expression of acceptance for whites and a mixture of positive and negative effects on white students' expression of acceptance of blacks. Furthermore, when subgroups with the least tendency toward social desirability bias were isolated, findings show the most positive effect of desegregation on the acceptance by both blacks and whites of the opposite race. (Author/EB)

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National Comparisons of Racial Attitudes of Segregated and Desegregated Students

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Surveys of racial attitude items have been used in recent years to argue that this nation has made great strides toward reducing interracial mistrust, preferences for segregated situations, or tendencies to discriminate against the opposite race. Indeed, most surveys of racial attitudes of students and adults have shown a downward trend over time in negative responses to interview and survey race relations questions, often showing only a small percentage of negative answers in the most recent studies (Harris, 1979; Shuman and Hatchett, 1974; Campbell, 1971; Scientific American, various authors, 1956, 1964, 1971, 1978).

This paper presents results from a recent large scale survey of students on race relations items. We will caution about making optimistic conclusions from attitude studies about the general level of interracial tolerance that may have actually been achieved. We find reason to speculate that the interview and survey results indicate that recent respondents have learned to give the "correct", "expected", or "socially-desirable" answers to racial attitude questions, without necessarily changing very much any basic predisposition towards the opposite racial group.

Of course, the concern that expression of attitude may not predict behavior is a familiar theme in social psychology, as is the worry that respondents will often show bias toward giving socially desirable answers in interview or questionnaire studies (Turner and Krauss, 1978). Since most group or individual indicators of the general probability that a respondent will be biased toward socially-desirable answers may themselves also be correlated with the "true" or "unbiased" predisposition, it will never be possible to completely discount individual differences in bias to

make most comparisons. Short of studying real behavior in equivalent situations, any interpretation of results from attitude questions requires a judgment about the degree of respondent bias and the implications of attitudes for subsequent actions.

Our approach will be to examine the relationship of some status characteristics of individuals (age, sex, region, socioeconomic status) with racial attitude responses, in order to locate items or situations where social desirability bias is least likely to explain the results. Our interest is also to consider whether attendence at desegregated schools has any positive or negative effects on the racial attitudes of black and white students.

Sample and Methods

Our sample is the 1974-75 National Assessment of Educational Progress--a large national probability survey of nine year olds, thirteen year olds and seventeen year olds that included a number of racial attitude questions as part of an assessment of citizenship objectives (National Assessment of Educational Progress, 1972; 1976). Because the main goal of the original survey is to estimate student performance on a very large number of exercises, only a random fraction of the 57,000 students surveyed in the three age levels are administered any given set of questions. In the case of the racial attitude questions, we have combined the approximately 2500 students who answered each of these items in each particular age group, even though they may have differed on the other questions in their assessment package. In some analyses we also combine students of different ages who answered the same race relations questions. All students were administered a basic set of family background and school questions, from which we chose a number to use in our own analyses.

Results: The Problem of Social Desirability Bias

Table 1 presents the means and sample sizes for the racial attitude questions we shall examine. The statistics are shown separately for blacks and whites in the age groups where the questions were asked. There are some questions which have not been made public ("unreleased items"), because they will be used again for subsequent assessments in later years.

From this table, one could easily get the impression that interracial hostility or intolerance is now a minor problem among the nation's students. For example, over 95 percent of the black and white students at each age level are shown to have responded that they would be sure that they could trust a person they just met from each racial group or to have responded that they "wouldn't be able to say one way or the other." Table 1 also indicates that usually three quarters or more of blacks and whites would not reject having a person of a different skin color sit next to them in school every day, or being their teacher, or being their friend. In addition, at least the same fractions of blacks and whites responded that they would be willing to have a person of a different race be their barber or beauty operator, come to their church or synagogue, live in their neighborhood, sit beside them on a train or bus, or vote in national elections.

Before accepting these percentages as a true expression of students' beliefs, we need to consider whether these responses may be seriously inflated because students are giving what they have learned to be the "correct", "expected" or "socially desirable" answer. Others have warned that the strongest possibility of biased results because respondents know the socially desirable answer occurs for questions about racial, religious

and ethnic attitudes (Sudman and Bradburn, 1974, p. 107). In addition, the administration of attitude questions in schools in a testing format is likely to intensify students' tendencies to look for a "correct" or "expected" answer, rather than to reflect their true feelings (Crowne and Marlowe).

To investigate these possibilities, we examined certain status characteristics of students that might be thought to be related to the degree of socialization in learning the answers that are most acceptable in American ideology. While it is not possible to separate out social desirability bias, we can examine reasonable correlates of social desirability tendencies, even though such factors may also be correlates of true underlying differences in attitudes, as long as we are willing to assume that the factors relate more to social desirability tendencies than to true underlying differences. The status factors we chose for examination are shown in Tables 2 and 3. They are:

(1) Age--we assume that older students, because of longer socialization in society and more maturity, will be more sensitive to identifying the more socially acceptable answer, and will be more inclined to respond in the way they believe to be expected.

(2) Sex--on the basis of previous research (Sudman and Bradburn, 1974; Crowne and Marlowe), we assume that females will be more likely than males to exhibit a bias towards socially desirable answers, in part because of differential cultural emphases in child rearing that reinforce greater sensitivity and acquiescence to norms of socially acceptable responses by females.

(3) Region--we assume that historical differences between the North and South in laws and traditions about racial status continue to produce a stronger tendency in the North for individuals to be biased toward racial tolerance responses because they are socially desirable.

(4) Socioeconomic status--we assume that individuals from higher social status backgrounds will be more highly socialized to give the more acceptable responses regardless of their true underlying attitudes.

To be sure, there are reasons to speculate that some or all of these factors are also related in the same direction to true differences in more tolerant underlying attitudes. We shall examine the empirical patterns to search for contrasts in items and situations where it can be argued that socially desirable bias is more or less likely.

Table 2 presents the relationship of responses to each race relations attitude question with age, race, region, sex, and socioeconomic status, in order to examine the relationship of the selected factors with positive race relations responses and to investigate the direction and strength of race differences in response to specific questions when differences in age, region, sex and socioeconomic status are statistically controlled. Table 3 presents separately for blacks and whites the relationship of responses to each race relations attitude question with age, region, sex and socioeconomic status, in order to contrast the importance of the selected status characteristics for each racial group's responses and to see whether there are certain questions where these factors are less important for each racial group.

The following results are noteworthy from Tables 2 and 3:

(1) The factors of age, region, sex and socioeconomic status are significant correlates of students' answers to racial attitude questions, suggesting under our assumptions that the racial attitude questions elicit responses with significant social desirability bias. Age is a particularly strong correlate, especially for the first six questions on each table, which were the only ones that included 9 year olds as well as 13 and 17 year olds. In Table 3, 20 of the 22 racial attitude items show a positive relationship with age for blacks (of which 19 are statistically significant with t greater than 2.0), and 21 of the 22 items show a positive relationship for whites (of which 15 are statistically significant). Sex is also a particularly strong correlate, with females giving the more positive and socially desirable answers without exception for the 22 items in the white sample and with only one exception in the black sample. This sex difference tendency also appears consistently stronger for whites than blacks (comparing b's), suggesting that whites may have an overall greater bias toward giving the expected answer than blacks. With few exceptions, region and socioeconomic status also correlated with racial attitude responses in the direction predicted by our assumptions about social desirability bias, although the size and consistency of this pattern is somewhat less in evidence for blacks than whites. This again suggests that whites may give somewhat more biased answers than blacks. Thus, our first conclusion from Tables 1, 2, and 3 is that it is dangerous to believe that average scores on racial attitude survey questions reflect the true attitudes of tolerance and willingness to interact in the population, since individuals have learned

to give the socially acceptable answers to these questions even though these may not reflect their true feelings. There is also some reason to doubt the true meaning of racial attitude answers of whites than blacks, although the indirect evidence for bias is present for both racial groups.

(2) An examination of the direction and size of the race variable in the third column of Table 2 suggests some particular items where interracial avoidance is particularly important from the perspective of each racial group. Racial attitude questions where the values in this column are negative and statistically significant (t equal or greater than 2.0) indicate items where blacks are more willing than whites to give a positive response. Racial attitude questions where the values in this column are positive and statistically significant indicate where whites are more willing than blacks to give a positive response. These differences can suggest those particular areas of social relationships where true feelings are sufficiently stronger than the social desirability tendencies of one group to produce a significant racial response difference, since column 3 of Table 2 shows estimated race effect after age, region, sex and socioeconomic status are statistically controlled.

From this analysis, it is suggested that blacks show more true positive interracial attitudes than whites regarding a person of a different race living in their neighborhood, or sitting beside them on a train or bus. By the same criteria, whites are more willing than blacks to have a person of a different race be their barber or beauty operator, to be their friend, or to vote in national elections. Stating these same findings in another way, whites show significantly more prejudice than blacks about interracial neighborhoods and sharing public transportation, which are

two areas of great significance in society; while blacks prefer members of their own race to provide specialized services such as beauty or barber shop services, but also are less willing to be friends with the other group and to grant voting rights to the other group in national elections. The fact that significant mistrust between blacks and whites exists (in spite of the very high average scores shown in Table 1) is also suggested by the direction and size of the race effect shown in column 3 of Table 2 for the items concerning trust of blacks and whites. These values show that mistrust of blacks is significantly greater by whites after age, region, sex and socioeconomic status are taken into account; and mistrust of whites is significantly greater by blacks under the same statistical control conditions. Moreover, the size of these differences suggests that blacks express much more mistrust than whites of the other racial group.

Some of the same areas of white and black sensitivity can be seen in Table 3, when items are identified that are exceptions to the predicted social desirability directions for age, region, sex, and socioeconomic status. Such reversals in direction for the selected status factors can indicate specific areas where there is strongest true resistance to interracial contact. For the black samples in Table 3, age is always a significant positive correlate with the exception of the item concerning "barber or beauty operator" and one unreleased item. When we notice that the same "barber-beauty shop" item is one where there is a large sign reversal among blacks for the expected socioeconomic status effect, we can be quite sure that blacks have a real preference in this area for dealing only with their own group. For the white sample, we only see one reversal in the direction of the age relationship, for the question dealing with "living

in an interracial neighborhood." By the same reasoning, this is added evidence that neighborhood integration is a particularly strong area of serious white resistance to the other race.

Our second conclusion is drawn from putting together the largest and most consistent findings from Tables 2 and 3: there is a significant level of interracial mistrust that would be overlooked if one only relied on average statistics for attitude questions; and white resistance to interracial contact appears to be most severe regarding interracial neighborhoods while blacks are most reluctant to have whites service their specialized needs such as in barber or beauty shops.

Results: Effects of School Desegregation

In addition to the information on student background and racial attitude responses, the National Assessment survey also collects data on the racial composition of each student's school (provided by the school principal). This raises the possibility that we can learn something about the effects of school desegregation on racial attitudes of blacks and whites. But there are at least two serious problems in using these data for such purposes. The first difficulty is the social desirability bias in racial attitude questions we have been discussing. Since we are interested in learning whether students "true" attitudes are positively or negatively affected by school desegregation, we must use assumptions and indirect analyses to try to separate "true" attitudes from differences that may be associated with attending a desegregated school in the tendency to give the "expected" response in spite of one's real feelings. The second difficulty is that school racial composition measures do not give any indication of the quality of the environment in different desegregated schools.

Because most theories of prejudice change emphasize the conditions of interracial contact, we will be unable with the available data to distinguish desegregated schools that simply mix racial enrollments from those that establish optimum conditions for positive interracial contact. In other words, we are unable to separate school "desegregation" from school "integration." Thus, even if we could deal with the bias problems in racial attitude questions, we would only be studying the effects of student assignments to schools (mixing of blacks and whites) and not the effects of different school racial environments (the internal conditions of desegregated schools).

Nevertheless, we will present tabulations and arguments to try to learn whether school desegregation affects the interracial feelings of black and white students, with the strong caution that the methodological problems prevent any firm conclusions on the question.

Table 4 presents the relationship between "percent white in the school" and student responses to each of the racial attitude questions, after statistically controlling for age, region, sex, and socioeconomic status. The relationship is shown separately for the black and white samples. For blacks, a positive regression coefficient (b) indicates that those in schools with additional white enrollment are more likely to express positive attitudes toward the other race. For whites, a negative regression coefficient indicates that those in schools with additional black enrollment are more likely to express positive attitudes toward the other race. (The regression coefficients are statistically significant at the .05 level if the associated t statistic is equal or greater than 2.0).

The results are much more consistent for the black than the white sample. For blacks, all of the statistically significant values are positive, indicating that blacks in schools with more whites are more likely to give attitude responses that are positive toward whites. For whites, we have a mixture of significant positive and negative values, indicating that whites in schools with more blacks give more positive responses sometimes toward the other race and sometimes more negative responses, depending upon the particular sample and items under consideration.

In an attempt to deal with the problem of social desirability bias in student responses, we shall now apply similar reasoning in our analysis of desegregation effects that we used earlier in our investigation of racial differences. To highlight true racial differences, we searched earlier for items where social desirability problems seemed less serious (i.e., items where the direction and strength of age or sex relationships deviated from assumptions about social desirability). To get closer to desegregation effects on true racial feelings, we will now contrast subgroups within each race where social desirability bias appears less severe according to the same assumptions about age and sex. Our argument is that we can put more credance in desegregation effects for subgroups that can be shown to be less susceptible to social desirability bias on race relations attitude items.

Because age differences are important to this exercise, we chose to examine the only racial attitude scale based on at least 3 items available in the National Assessment survey data that includes all three age groups (9, 13 and 17 year olds). Table 5 presents the relationships of sex,

region, socioeconomic status and school desegregation (percent white enrollment) with the selected racial attitude scale, for three age subgroups within each race.

We find evidence in Table 5 that 9 year olds of each race are much less likely to exhibit social desirability response bias than the two older age groups. This evidence is primarily that sex and region are much weaker correlates of student responses among 9 year olds than the other age groups. For whites, the tendency of 9 year old females to give the "expected" response is nearly three times less likely than for 17 year olds (b = -.12 vs. -.31), and there is a regular trend for the sex variable across the three age groups. Also, for whites, region does not reflect the predicted bias in 9 year olds, but does among 13 year olds and especially among 17 year olds. For blacks, the change in the female tendency is even more dramatic, with 9 year olds showing a non-significant positive sex value, while 17 year olds show the predicted pattern at a statistically significant level. Also, for blacks, there is a regular trend across the three age groups for sex and region and SES values that correspond to the greater predicted social desirability response pattern as students grow in age. In short, we argue that 9 year old students of both races are less likely than other ages to mask their true feelings with social desirability response biases.

When we examine the effects of school desegregation we also notice that 9 year olds exhibit different results than the other ages. For 9 year old <u>whites</u>, positive reactions toward the other race are much more strongly associated with attendance at schools enrolling additional black students. While this relationship is in the same direction for 13 year olds, it is

only half as large; and it is in the opposite direction (although not statistically significant) for 17 year olds. If we accept the argument that 9 year olds are less likely to exhibit social desirability response bias, this suggests that school desegregation has a beneficial effect on white student interracial tolerance, and casts coubt that the negative results noted earlier for whites reflect true changes rather than the greater tendency of older white students in white schools to have learned better to give the expected response without revealing their true feelings.*

The effects of school desegregation for 9 year old blacks are also different than for other age groups in Table 5. Nine year old blacks show the only statistically significant relationship between school desegregation and the racial attitude scale, with black students who are attending schools with greater white enrollment expressing more tolerance toward the other race than black students from more racially isolated schools. Again, if we accept that 9 year olds are giving better indications of their true feelings, Table 5 suggests that school desegregation can have a significant influence on positive racial attitudes for blacks.

We will now summarize the investigations reported in Tables 4 and 5. Without additional indirect controls on social desirability response bias, but with statistical controls on age, region, sex and socioeconomic status (Table 4), we find a generally positive influence from school desegregation on black students' expression of acceptance of whites, and a mixture of

* Of course, there are other reasonable explanations for the patterns observed for whites in Table 5, including that early grade desegregation is a more positive experience than desegregation delayed to later grades, and that the trends in sex and region values reflect changes in true underlying feelings so that no inference is warranted about lower levels of bias among 9 year olds.

positive and negative effects on white students' expression of acceptance of blacks. When we try to isolate subgroups who have the least tendency toward social desirability bias (9 year olds in Table 5), we find the most positive effect of desegregation on the acceptance by both whites and blacks of the opposite race.* We must again caution that our general skepticism about the use of racial attitude survey questions to reveal true feelings rather than bias toward "expected" responses is reason to view the results on school desegregation effects as suggestive at best.

Discussion

Racial attitude questions from national surveys are being used to show the progress toward interracial harmony in this country, and sometimes to show that hostility between the races has become a relatively minor problem. We show in this paper that there is reason to worry about conclusions from such measures, because they may indicate progress only on learning what is the socially desirable response rather than on true underlying feelings. We use assumptions about individual status factors that are related to social desirability response bias, to argue that there is a significant residue of real mistrust between blacks and whites, and that there are particular areas of strongest resistance (such as neighborhood integration for whites and personal services for blacks).

The cautions about using racial attitude questions also apply to investigations of effects of school desegregation, since attendance at mostly white schools may also be associated with having learned to fake answers to make a positive or socially desirable presentation. With these cautions

* Analyses were performed on the five separate items where data was collected from 9, 13, and 17 year olds, and the same general pattern of results was found that has been described for the racial attitude scale shown in Table 5.

in mind, we examined differences in responses of black and white students as the proportion of white school enrollment differs. We find little reason to believe that desegregation has generally negative effects on black racial tolerance under any circumstances, and may well have positive effects. But the picture for whites is much more mixed. When we engaged in speculative analyses that attempt to isolate subgroups that may have least response bias, we find the strongest evidence that school desegregation has a positive influence on interracial attitudes of both blacks and whites.

Table 1

MEANS OF RACIAL ATTITUDE ITEMS, BY AGE AND RACE

Racial Attitude Item	Age	Black μ	Black (n)	White μ	White (n)
Percent responding "Yes" or "I don't know" to: Would you want to have a person of a different skin color:					
--sit next to you in school everyday	9	69.7	(307)	75.2	(1872)
	13	81.2	(266)	82.9	(2032)
	17	86.4	(330)	86.9	(2177)
--be your teacher	9	77.2	(307)	74.6	(1870)
	13	87.2	(266)	86.2	(2032)
	17	89.1	(330)	90.6	(2177)
--be your friend	9	83.0	(306)	89.3	(1871)
	13	93.2	(266)	93.8	(2033)
	17	94.8	(330)	95.0	(2183)
--unreleased item	9	75.6	(254)	72.1	(1997)
	13	83.8	(309)	83.6	(2020)
	17	84.2	(328)	85.3	(2283)
--unreleased item	9	72.2	(255)	73.4	(1995)
	13	81.8	(307)	87.7	(2020)
	17	88.7	(328)	89.0	(2274)
--unreleased item	9	85.5	(255)	90.1	(1995)
	13	89.9	(308)	95.7	(2024)
	17	--	--	--	--
Percent responding "Willing to" to: How willing would you be to have a person of a different race doing these things?					
--be your barber or beauty operator	13	75.4	(342)	82.2	(1903)
	17	74.8	(298)	86.5	(2892)
--come to your church or synagogue	13	84.6	(344)	87.7	(1896)
	17	92.3	(297)	91.5	(2885)
--live in your neighborhood	13	82.5	(343)	80.5	(1903)
	17	89.8	(295)	76.2	(2888)
--sit beside you on a train or bus	13	81.9	(343)	78.1	(1899)
	17	92.9	(297)	85.9	(2894)

(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

Table 1 (CONTINUED)

MEANS OF RACIAL ATTITUDE ITEMS, BY AGE AND RACE

Racial Attitude Item	Age	Black μ	Black (n)	White μ	White (n)
Percent responding "Willing to" to: How willing would you be to have a person of a different race doing these things?					
--vote in national elections	13	76.6	(342)	87.0	(1903)
	17	92.9	(297)	94.8	(2890)
--unreleased item	13	88.6	(282)	89.7	(1989)
	17	92.8	(305)	91.3	(2251)
--unreleased item	13	90.8	(281)	94.9	(1989)
	17	95.1	(305)	96.4	(2252)
--unreleased item	13	78.7	(282)	86.2	(1986)
	17	90.5	(305)	90.6	(2251)
--unreleased item	13	82.1	(280)	82.9	(1989)
	17	88.8	(305)	83.2	(2252)
--unreleased item	13	80.1	(281)	90.2	(1987)
	17	91.8	(305)	94.9	(2251)
Percent responding "Be Sure" or "Wouldn't be able to say one way or the other" to: If you just met someone who was _____, how sure would you be that the person could be trusted?					
--Oriental	13	95.9	(266)	97.9	(2034)
	17	98.5	(331)	98.5	(2186)
--Black	13	95.1	(266)	95.8	(2034)
	17	98.2	(332)	95.9	(2186)
--White	13	89.0	(263)	98.3	(2033)
	17	95.5	(332)	99.0	(2186)
--unreleased item	13	95.8	(309)	98.4	(2029)
	17	99.4	(328)	98.5	(2293)
--unreleased item	13	93.2	(308)	98.1	(2027)
	17	99.1	(331)	98.6	(2294)
--unreleased item	13	--	--	--	--
	17	97.3	(331)	98.8	(2294)

Table 2

SUMMARY OF MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSES OF STUDENT RACIAL ATTITUDES
ON AGE, RACE, REGION, SEX, AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS
(b=standardized regression coefficient, t=test statistic)

Racial Attitude Item (dependent variable)	Age b	Age (t)	Race b	Race (t)	Region b	Region (t)	Sex b	Sex (t)	SES b	SES (t)	Sample Size
Would you want to have a person of a different skin color: (Yes, or I don't know)											
--sit next to you in school everyday.	.14	(12.3)	.00	(0.5)	.09	(8.3)	-.13	(-11.6)	.06	(5.3)	7632
--be your teacher	.18	(16.2)	-.01	(-1.1)	.04	(3.3)	-.13	(-11.6)	.06	(5.6)	7630
--be your friend	.12	(10.5)	.03	(2.4)	-.00	(-0.1)	-.09	(-7.9)	.06	(5.1)	7637
--unreleased item	.14	(12.4)	-.02	(-2.0)	.08	(7.4)	-.08	(-7.6)	.05	(4.8)	7731
--unreleased item	.18	(16.6)	-.00	(-0.0)	.09	(7.9)	-.10	(-8.7)	.08	(7.5)	7719
--unreleased item	.11	(9.6)	.06	(5.0)	.02	(1.9)	-.05	(-4.6)	.03	(2.6)	4957
How willing would you be to have a person of a different race doing these things? (Willing to):											
--be your barber or beauty operator	.05	(3.9)	.07	(5.3)	.08	(6.4)	-.12	(-9.3)	.03	(2.1)	5878
--come to your church or synagogue	.06	(5.0)	-.00	(-0.1)	.10	(7.8)	-.10	(-8.0)	.04	(3.0)	5866
--live in your neighborhood	-.03	(-2.1)	-.07	(-5.4)	.10	(7.3)	-.10	(-7.7)	.00	(0.3)	5871
--sit beside you on a train or bus	.11	(8.5)	-.06	(-4.3)	.08	(6.0)	-.12	(-9.6)	.04	(3.3)	5875
--vote in national elections	.15	(12.0)	.06	(4.6)	.04	(3.5)	-.09	(-7.1)	.09	(7.1)	5872
--unreleased item	.04	(3.0)	-.00	(-.00)	.02	(1.6)	-.11	(-8.0)	.02	(1.9)	5207
--unreleased item	.05	(3.4)	.04	(2.8)	.02	(1.9)	-.08	(-5.5)	.03	(2.4)	5208
--unreleased item	.10	(7.1)	.03	(2.0)	.03	(2.3)	-.09	(-6.4)	.09	(6.9)	5204
--unreleased item	.02	(1.6)	-.05	(-3.4)	.15	(11.1)	-.06	(-4.6)	.07	(5.1)	5205
--unreleased item	.10	(7.8)	.07	(5.0)	.04	(2.7)	-.08	(-5.8)	.07	(5.0)	5204
If you just met someone who was _____, how sure would you be that the person could be trusted? (Be sure, or wouldn't be able to say one way or the other):											
--Oriental	.04	(3.4)	.01	(1.2)	.03	(2.4)	-.08	(-7.2)	.05	(4.7)	5218
--Black	.02	(1.7)	-.02	(-2.0)	.03	(2.8)	-.12	(-10.7)	.05	(4.5)	5218
--White	.06	(4.9)	.13	(11.4)	.02	(1.7)	-.04	(-3.6)	.07	(6.4)	5213
--unreleased item	.03	(2.3)	.02	(1.7)	-.01	(-0.9)	-.08	(-7.3)	.04	(4.2)	5303
--unreleased item	.05	(4.2)	.05	(4.1)	-.00	(-0.1)	-.06	(-5.0)	.07	(6.1)	5301
--unreleased item	.00	(0.3)	.05	(4.2)	-.04	(-3.7)	-.07	(-6.0)	.03	(2.9)	2789

1) Age is scored 9-year-olds=0, 13-year-olds=1, 17-year-olds=2; Race is scored Black=0, White=1; Region is scored South=0, North=1; Sex is scored Female=0, Male=1; SES is measured by Parent's highest education, which is scored Did not complete eighth grade=06, Completed the eighth grade but did not go to high school=08, Went to high school but did not graduate=10, Graduated from high school=12, Some education after graduation from high school=14.

Table 3

SUMMARY OF MULTIPLE REGRESSION OF STUDENT RACIAL ATTITUDES ON AGE, REGION, SEX AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS, BY RACE

	BLACK									WHITE								
	Age		Region		Sex		SES		Sample	Age		Region		Sex		SES		Sample
Racial Attitude Item	b	(t)	b	(t)	b	(t)	b	(t)	Size	b	(t)	b	(t)	b	(t)	b	(t)	Size
Would you want to have a person of a different skin color:																		
--sit next to you in school every day	.18	(5.6)	.08	(2.3)	-.07	(-2.3)	.03	(0.9)	903	.12	(9.4)	.10	(7.7)	-.15	(-11.8)	.07	(5.6)	6081
--be your teacher	.15	(4.6)	.10	(3.0)	-.02	(-0.6)	.02	(0.6)	903	.18	(14.1)	.03	(2.2)	-.15	(-12.4)	.07	(5.5)	6079
--be your friend	.17	(5.2)	.02	(0.6)	-.02	(-0.7)	.04	(1.2)	902	.09	(7.1)	-.00	(-0.2)	-.10	(-8.1)	.06	(4.8)	6087
--unreleased item	.09	(2.6)	.04	(1.3)	.00	(0.1)	-.00	(-0.2)	891	.14	(10.0)	.09	(7.4)	-.11	(-8.8)	.07	(6.1)	6300
--unreleased item	.17	(5.1)	.00	(0.0)	-.01	(-0.2)	-.00	(-0.1)	890	.17	(14.0)	.10	(8.2)	-.12	(-9.5)	.10	(8.6)	6289
--unreleased item	.07	(2.1)	-.06	(-1.7)	-.02	(-0.7)	.04	(1.2)	563	.11	(8.8)	.04	(3.3)	-.06	(-4.8)	.04	(3.2)	4019
How willing would you be to have a person of a different race doing these things:																		
--be your barber or beauty operator	-.01	(-0.3)	.05	(1.2)	-.05	(-1.4)	-.07	(-1.6)	640	.06	(4.0)	.09	(6.0)	-.13	(-9.2)	.05	(3.9)	4795
--come to your church or synagogue	.12	(3.0)	-.04	(-1.1)	-.13	(-3.4)	.08	(2.1)	641	.06	(4.0)	.12	(8.4)	-.10	(-7.3)	.03	(2.4)	4781
--live in your neighborhood	.11	(2.8)	.12	(3.0)	-.02	(-0.6)	.01	(0.2)	638	-.05	(-3.7)	.08	(5.9)	-.11	(-7.8)	.01	(0.9)	4791
--sit beside you on a train or bus	.16	(4.2)	.10	(2.6)	-.06	(-1.6)	.00	(0.1)	640	.10	(7.1)	.07	(4.9)	-.14	(-9.9)	.06	(3.9)	4793
--vote in national elections	.22	(5.9)	.04	(1.1)	-.06	(-1.7)	.04	(1.0)	639	.14	(9.9)	.05	(3.6)	-.10	(-6.8)	.10	(7.3)	4793
--unreleased item	.07	(1.7)	.01	(0.2)	-.01	(-0.2)	-.03	(-0.8)	587	.03	(1.7)	.03	(1.9)	-.13	(-8.4)	.03	(2.0)	4240
--unreleased item	.09	(2.2)	.02	(0.4)	-.01	(-0.2)	.04	(1.0)	586	.04	(2.4)	.03	(1.9)	-.10	(-6.2)	.04	(2.8)	4241
--unreleased item	.16	(4.1)	.05	(1.3)	-.05	(-1.3)	-.01	(-0.2)	587	.07	(4.6)	.04	(2.5)	-.10	(-6.6)	.09	(6.0)	4237
--unreleased item	.10	(2.6)	.08	(2.0)	-.02	(-0.6)	.07	(1.7)	585	.00	(0.2)	.16	(10.9)	-.07	(-4.5)	.07	(4.5)	4241
--unreleased item	.17	(4.3)	-.01	(-0.2)	-.01	(-0.2)	.02	(0.4)	586	.09	(5.9)	.05	(3.2)	-.10	(-6.4)	.07	(4.4)	4238
If you met someone who was _____, how sure would you be that the person could be trusted?																		
--Oriental	.08	(2.6)	.05	(1.4)	-.05	(-1.5)	.00	(0.1)	597	.02	(1.5)	.02	(2.0)	-.08	(-6.5)	.04	(2.9)	4220
--Black	.06	(2.6)	-.01	(-0.2)	-.04	(-1.2)	.00	(0.1)	598	.00	(0.0)	.04	(3.0)	-.14	(-10.7)	.05	(4.1)	4219
--White	.14	(4.2)	.09	(2.6)	-.01	(-0.4)	.05	(1.5)	595	.03	(2.3)	.01	(0.8)	-.05	(-3.[illegible])	.08	(6.1)	4219
--unreleased item	.12	(3.6)	-.03	(-0.9)	-.04	(-1.2)	.04	(1.1)	640	.00	(0.4)	-.01	(-1.1)	-.10	(-8.9)	.06	(4.9)	4332
--unreleased item	.16	(4.8)	.05	(1.4)	-.00	(-0.2)	.02	(0.6)	639	.02	(2.0)	-.01	(-1.1)	-.07	(-5.8)	.08	(6.3)	4321
--unreleased item	-.01	(-0.4)	-.00	(-0.0)	-.11	(-3.2)	-.08	(-2.4)	331	.00	(0.4)	-.06	(-4.5)	-.07	(-5.6)	.06	(5.1)	2294

Table 4

EFFECTS OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION ON STUDENT RACIAL ATTITUDES, CONTROLLING FOR AGE, REGION, SEX, AND SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS, BY RACE

(b=standardized regression coefficient; t=test statistic)

Racial Attitude Item (dependent variable)	Blacks		Whites	
	b	(t)	b	(t)
Would you want to have a person of a different skin color:				
--sit next to you in school everyday	.11	(3.1)	.01	(1.1)
--be your teacher	.06	(1.6)	-.04	(-2.9)
--be your friend	.12	(3.5)	-.01	(-0.5)
--unreleased item	.09	(2.8)	-.03	(-2.3)
--unreleased item	.12	(3.4)	-.01	(-0.5)
--unreleased item	.04	(1.2)	-.02	(-1.6)
How willing would you be to have a person of a different race:				
--be your barber or beauty operator	-.02	(-0.4)	.08	(5.5)
--come to your church or synagogue	.10	(2.5)	.09	(6.2)
--live in your neighborhood	.09	(2.3)	.05	(3.7)
--sit beside you on a train or bus	.07	(1.8)	.02	(1.8)
--vote in national elections	.09	(2.4)	.02	(1.5)
--unreleased item	.05	(1.3)	.06	(3.6)
--unreleased item	.06	(1.5)	.04	(2.4)
--unreleased item	.11	(2.5)	.02	(1.3)
--unreleased item	.04	(0.8)	.08	(5.4)
--unreleased item	.01	(0.2)	.01	(0.8)
If you just met someone who was _____, how sure would you be that the person could be trusted?				
--Oriental	.04	(1.1)	.02	(2.0)
--Black	.01	(0.3)	.06	(4.7)
--White	-.01	(-0.2)	.04	(2.8)
--unreleased item	.05	(1.5)	-.02	(-1.3)
--unreleased item	.06	(1.7)	-.02	(-1.8)
--unreleased item	-.04	(-1.1)	-.01	(-0.8)

Table 5

SUMMARY OF MULTIPLE REGRESSION OF STUDENT RACIAL ATTITUDE SCALE* ON SEX, REGION, SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS AND SCHOOL DESEGREGATION, BY AGE AND RACE

(b = standardized regression coefficient, t = test statistic)

Age	Sex		Region		SES		Desegregation	
	b	(t)	b	(t)	b	(t)	b	(t)
				White				
9	-.12	(-5.6)	-.01	(-0.4)	.13	(5.7)	-.12	(-5.4)
13	-.13	(-6.1)	.08	(3.9)	.05	(2.4)	-.05	(-2.4)
17	-.31	(-15.3)	.10	(4.7)	.05	(2.4)	.02	(0.9)
				Black				
9	.02	(0.4)	.10	(1.6)	-.03	(-0.5)	.19	(3.0)
13	-.04	(-0.7)	.10	(1.5)	.04	(0.7)	.03	(0.5)
17	-.15	(-2.8)	.12	(2.3)	.04	(0.7)	.04	(0.8)

* Scale is based on student responses to three items: Would you want to have a person of a different skin color: sit next to you in school every day? be your teacher? be your friend?

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